only expected sadness, regret, and anger but also relief, particularly when survivors have spent months or years dealing with a father’s suffering. Readers may find in the narratives glimpses of themselves as they undergo the psychological, physical, spiritual, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions of grief. The authors do not offer a “healthy” or “unhealthy” version of the grieving process but rather affirm that there is no “one size fits all” approach to dealing with personal loss.

The first half of the book, on the dynamics in the relationship between Italian American daughters and their fathers, stresses key developmental stages that readers can use to examine their own relationships and build their own narratives. There are benefits to organizing the book according to developmental periods; but there are some costs to this as well. Most notable is a possible disconnect between the first and second parts of the book. Without revisiting each specific father–daughter dyad presented in the book’s first half, readers do not have a roadmap to tie the grief experiences to the earlier developmental relationships.

*Daughters, Dads, and the Path through Grief* is a poignant reminder that the death of a loved one does not define life or mark the end of a relationship. Growth and change are possible, often through the different narratives we create as life progresses. This book is appropriate for anyone interested in learning more about Italian American father–daughter relationships, loss, and the experience of grief.

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By Louis Corsino.


157 pages.

Vito Corleone and Tony Soprano have cast long shadows, reinforcing stereotypes about Italian Americans and the Mafia. Louis Corsino’s *The Neighborhood Outfit: Organized Crime in Chicago Heights,* however, adds to a growing list of recent scholarly books challenging popular perceptions and Hollywood depictions of the link between Italian immigrants and organized crime in twentieth-century America. Like most of these studies, *The Neighborhood Outfit* mentions the exploits of the usual larger-than-life characters, such as Al Capone and Johnny Torrio, refers to high-profile gangland “hits,” including the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, and is filled with references to men with colorful names, such as “One-Armed Jimmy,” “Tootsie,” and “Black Mike.” Although Corsino concludes that Italian Americans dominated organized crime in Chicago (and beyond) for much of the last century, he also argues that there was nothing intrinsic to Italian culture and tradition that connected Italian Americans to criminal enterprises and gangland activities. To the contrary, according to Corsino, the link to organized crime was “historically contingent” (126), reflecting the specific social conditions of early twentieth-century America.
The Neighborhood Outfit explores organized crime in Chicago Heights, a working-class suburb twenty-five miles south of Chicago. The “boys” of Chicago Heights controlled gambling, prostitution, and related enterprises in the city and formed one of the “street crews” of the Chicago Outfit, Capone’s criminal network. Corsino’s book is distinctive and particularly valuable in two ways. First, its community or neighborhood focus enables the writer, a sociologist by training, to place the Chicago Heights Outfit in historical and spatial context. And second, Corsino, who grew up in Chicago Heights, draws on his family ties and personal experiences. His father and numerous other relatives were “connected.” They did not play central roles in the criminal enterprises, though these relatives performed “favors” for the full-time gangsters, occasionally delivering or hiding packages and equipment for the organization, for example. Corsino’s personal recollections, therefore, provide an “insider perspective” (9) on organized crime in twentieth-century Chicago Heights. By drawing on such memories, the author blends the social-scientific methods and academic detachment of a sociologist with the personal and family reminiscences of a local observer. The latter evidence, ranging from interviews with relatives to his childhood experiences, leavens the former, adding nuance and human depth to the quantitative analyses and social theories at the heart of the book.

Corsino explores core issues about Italian Americans and organized crime in Chicago Heights. How and why did these residents become involved with Capone’s criminal organization? Were they “pushed” by social conditions to participate in illegal enterprises, or did they willingly “jump” into organized crime? Corsino attempts to explain Italian American dominance of criminal networks in the area. He flatly rejects the “cultural essentialism” (126) that posits that Italian Americans were somehow naturally inclined or culturally predisposed to become bootleggers, gangsters, and hit men. But if cultural traditions did not account for their participation in organized crime, why did these immigrants and their children control the Chicago Heights—and Chicago—Outfit?

According to Corsino, the social and economic pressures of early twentieth-century Chicago fueled immigrant participation in organized crime. The author draws from (and tests) the theories of mid twentieth-century sociologists Robert Merton and Daniel Bell, both of whom argued that groups confronting barriers to advancement, such as endemic poverty, social isolation, and persistent discrimination, often turned to nontraditional paths for upward mobility, such as sports, politics, shop keeping, and illegal enterprises (Merton 1968; Bell 1960). Corsino examines social conditions in early twentieth-century Chicago Heights and finds that Italian immigrants faced precisely the sorts of obstacles described by the theorists. The newcomers were mired in poverty, endured sustained discrimination from teachers and potential employers, and found themselves excluded from the best jobs. Some of the immigrants opened small neighborhood shops or became active in local politics or unions. Other Italian immigrants responded to the exclusion by participating in illegal enterprises, such as operating and managing slot machines. All of these alternative avenues for social and economic mobility relied on the bonds and informal networks forged in close-knit, impoverished Chicago Heights neighborhoods, where personal and kin-based loyalties produced unwavering support for mom-and-pop groceries and local union officials. This social capital also provided an informal support system for residents of the Italian neighborhood of the city.
These bonds, however, proved to be especially suited to criminal enterprises, since local gamblers and slot-machine owners knew they could trust their neighbors, with whom they shared cultural, social, and religious traditions. As Prohibition created vast opportunities for entrepreneurs willing to flout an unpopular law, such solidarity and fidelity translated into success in the burgeoning world of organized crime. Thus, local conditions drew Chicago Heights Italian Americans into participation in illegal entrepreneurial activities. Links to Al Capone’s criminal networks provided structure and organization to the neighborhood enterprises and connected the local street crew to the larger, more formidable Chicago Outfit.

Corsino’s careful research connects the social experiences of Chicago Heights Italian Americans to Merton’s and Bell’s theoretical framework. The author, for instance, demonstrates the crushing discrimination and isolation experienced by the city’s Italian Americans, establishes the dominance of these residents in the Chicago Heights branch of the Outfit, and, most important, charts the powerful, enduring bonds that connected local criminal entrepreneurs to one another and to the local community. In short, the social challenges of local residents, rather than some mysterious Sicily-based criminal conspiracy or an Italian predisposition for crime and violence, led Chicago Heights Italian Americans to participate in illegal enterprises.

Corsino’s overall argument is persuasive. In two ways, however, his analysis is more suggestive than conclusive. First, his thesis rests on an implicit yet undeveloped comparative framework. He proves that Italian immigrants faced obstacles and were excluded from traditional paths to upward mobility and that illegal enterprises offered an alternate route to success. But Corsino does not analyze the experiences of and obstacles confronted by other poor, isolated Chicago Heights immigrants. Polish or Russian immigrants or African American migrants likely faced similar forms of exclusion and discrimination during the opening decades of the twentieth century. Yet Italian Americans dominated organized crime in Chicago Heights. Was the social capital of Italian residents somehow stronger and more resilient, enabling them to overcome obstacles through illegal enterprises? Put differently, Corsino asks, but does not answer the question of “why some disadvantaged groups rather than others . . . come to dominate organized crime” (124). Second, for all of Corsino’s emphasis on social capital and neighborhood bonds, he takes a top-down approach, focusing on the leaders of the Chicago Heights Outfit. If local solidarity was the key that enabled small-time entrepreneurs to succeed in early twentieth-century organized crime, then a fuller analysis of the informal bonds that linked Chicago Heights Outfit members to their neighbors—to “connected” residents—would have been especially valuable, though the author does not fully develop this theme.

In sum, even if some questions remain unanswered, Corsino succeeds in *The Neighborhood Outfit*, demolishing the essentialist perspective on Italian American participation in organized crime. Finally, and providing additional support for his “historical contingency” framework, Corsino charts the changing structure of organized crime in Chicago Heights during the closing decades of the last century, when he finds that Mexican American and African American residents confronted endemic discrimination and poverty. Moreover, like earlier Italian American residents, these more recent newcomers searched for alternative paths of social mobility, built on neighborhood networks, and gradually came to dominate criminal enterprises in Chicago Heights.
Thus, the cycle has begun anew, with social conditions—rather than alien cultural traditions—shaping organized crime in Chicagoland.

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Works Cited

An Unlikely Union: The Love-Hate Story of New York’s Irish and Italians.
By Paul Moses.
380 pages.

Paul Moses has written a delightful book, part academic and part journalistic. The story of Irish–Italian relations in New York City across nearly two centuries is a rich, funny, disturbing, and ultimately positive history. Initially viewing Italian Americans as ethnic rivals with strange religious practices, New York’s Irish Americans wanted no part of them. Irish American clergy relegated Italian Americans to the church basement for services, and the Irish American community fought Italian Americans in the neighborhoods they shared, withheld political positions, and stereotyped them as criminals. While an adversarial experience between ethnic groups is not unusual and, as the author notes, still continues today, though with different communities, the history that brought the Irish and Italians from foe to friend makes for fascinating reading.

Moses begins his account in 1850, with the start of a two-decade-long clash centering around the Italian struggle for unification. In New York City, leaders of the Risorgimento like Giuseppe Garibaldi and local followers were at odds with the Irish American Catholic community and hierarchy over the movement’s strong antipapal sentiments. Under Archbishop John Hughes, mid nineteenth-century New York City was fast becoming an Irish-dominated city, and Italian Americans, although relatively few in number, aggravated Irish American sensibilities with their support of the Risorgimento’s claims to papal territory. In addition, the ways Italian Americans practiced Catholicism disturbed Irish Americans, who had their own manner of worshipping.

The communal conflicts in New York sparked by the Italian Risorgimento, Moses argues, set in motion a long period of frequently hostile relations between the two Catholic groups, who were increasingly in daily contact with each other. All the indicators of modern-day ethnic conflict—such as intergroup violence, as in the Mulberry Street riots of 1884; residential flight or succession, when the arrival of one group